

Waldorf, Maryland
March 15, 1958

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American Committee for Liberation
1657 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Howland:

Since our conference in January with [redacted] before his departure for Munich, I have taken pains to go over carefully the texts of all the Russian-language broadcasts of Radio Liberation for some 90 days. With the exception of the output for the month of December, 1957, the other scripts examined were broadcasts picked at random from the files in the office.

This report cannot, therefore, be regarded as an exhaustive study for any given lengthy period of time. But I do think that the examples cited below are sufficient to form an unmistakable pattern which is not casual or accidental in origin.

Because of your special concern over the Victor Frank scripts of November 15 and 23, 1957, introducing to the RL audience the biography of Mao Tse-tung, — a concern which led to this inquiry, — I deemed it best to divide this memorandum into 2 parts. Part I attempts a fairly comprehensive analysis of the two aforementioned broadcasts on me. Part II presents in chronological order, beginning with October 9, 1957, and ending with February 12, 1958, various selections from the Russian-language broadcasts, accompanied by my analytical comments.

My general conclusions and observations are given briefly at the end of this report.

Part I

The first installment of the Victor Frank sketch of Mao broadcast on November 15 begins with this passage:

"Last week, for the first time in history, the head of the Chinese Government made an appearance at a solemn session of the legislative body of a European state -- the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. After the passage of 100 years, during which the ancient Middle Empire was in a state of helpless decline and anarchy and was apparently becoming the prey of Western and Japanese aggressors, this man succeeded in restoring the unity, independence and power of China, in putting it on the road of internal renovation and making it a model for the multi-millioned masses of Asia and an important factor in European affairs."

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2.

Consider a few of the facets of this gem:

Mao is the head of the Chinese Government. Nationalist China simply does not exist.

The Supreme Soviet is a legislative body! Its one-party 99.9% compulsory electoral system is totally ignored.

The meeting of the Supreme Soviet is an important session. Indeed, when Mao attends it.

The Western powers, including the United States, are coupled with the Japanese aggressors in China.

Mao is hailed as the restorer of the unity of China, ignoring the Taiwan regime; and of the independence of China, ignoring its dependence upon Moscow.

Finally, this internally reformed model China is nowhere identified as Communist.

The next passage from the Victor Frank broadcast shows a change of pitch but not of pattern:

"He (Mao) is a Communist who devoted almost his whole life to the study of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. Yet at the same time he is a ruler completely in the Chinese tradition: he is merciless in the struggle for power; fully determined to pass it on to his successors; one who depends upon a highly centralized bureaucracy, absolutely alien to European concepts of democracy and the rights of man; and who is guided by a philosophy of an equilibrium of social forces.* With the exception perhaps of Khrushchev, he (Mao) is the most powerful despot of our time, but he is striving to be an enlightened despot."

* What Aesopian language!

After reviewing Mao's struggle for power and his conflict with Chiang Kai-shek, the broadcast rises to a new pitch of enthusiasm in the following passage:

"The famous 'long march' across all of China was not only an epic feat of heroism and endurance; it also became a symbol of the liberation of the peasant army from its ties to the native soil, a symbol of its transformation into a partisan army which was under the command of scholarly bureaucrat-Communists."

The first installment of the Mao broadcast of November 15 invited the Soviet audience to listen to the next installment on November 22. The latter was introduced with the statement, "we are continuing our narrative about Mao Tse-tung, one of the most colorful contemporary figures."

3.

The announcer added that "we will make use of an article which appeared in the British newspaper Observer." After devoting some space to the alleged differences between Stalin and Mao, the broadcast of November 23 goes on to declare:

"When Mao in 1923 said that in the course of 3 years he received no help whatever from the Comintern, he was speaking the pure truth."

This is not a quotation from nor an attribution to the London Observer. This was a flat statement by RL. How Mr. Frank knows this pure truth remains his secret.

A somewhat similar unqualified assertion is made later in the same broadcast after a discussion of the Chinese conception of the Communist Party, which is crowned with the statement:

"But in substance it means that Marxism, already distorted by Lenin, has been turned upside down in China."

The author must have some very profound convictions as to Marxism to accuse Lenin of mutilating it and Mao of such heresy as turning it upside down.

The broadcast ends on an optimistic note -- for the Communist audience behind the Iron Curtain. Speaking of the incomparable tolerance towards entire classes of society in China, it concludes:

"And, if the old Chinese tradition will also determine the future of the Chinese Communist Party, then in the final analysis this tolerance towards political opponents can even grow further."

One is left with no choice but to associate oneself with Mr. B. K. Ganusovsky's view, as expressed in his letter to you of December 3, that the broadcasts on Mao constituted a "shameless hymn to Chinese Communism" and to join him in the question: "Is this a broadcast by Radio Liberation or by Radio Moscow?"

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Part III

1. Oct. 9, 1957. In reporting demonstrations held in Warsaw, the RL newscast stated:

"Monday evening, however, a group of young workers who had come downtown from Prague, a suburb of Warsaw, and from other areas of the city, still tried to provoke disorder.... The police department reports that there were no students among the rioters."

4.

Is Radio Liberation on the side of Communist order?

Is it the business of RL to gloat over the Communist report that students were not participating in the demonstrations?

Subsequent dispatches reported that more than 100 youths and students who participated in the demonstrations were arrested and put on trial in Warsaw!

2. Oct. 9. In its review of Western press comments on the launching of Sputnik, RL presented 6 editorial selections, 3 from the British press, all singing unqualified praise for the Soviet's "brilliant achievement;" and 3 from the American and French press, balancing their praise of the Sputnik achievement with sober and thought-provoking observations.

Is it the business of Radio Liberation to select uncritical and adulatory comments on Soviet achievements?

Instead of presenting solely the balanced pro and con comments from the last 3 papers (N. Y. Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, Paris Combat), did we not stack the cards in favor of Moscow by adding the unqualified praise from the British press?

3. Oct. 10. An editorial article in a Warsaw newspaper is quoted by RL as follows:

"that the Soviet Sputnik has passed several times over Washington.... will undoubtedly play some role in the disarmament negotiations."

Could not RL leave it to the Moscow press and radio to tell the Soviet audience that Sputnik had passed over Washington?

And was the hint from Communist Warsaw that Sputnik might cow the United States in the disarmament talks the type of comment for RL to transmit?

4. Oct. 10. And here is RL's own editorial comment on Sputnik:

"What has helped the Soviet scientists to create and launch Sputnik? First of all, the very broad freedom of inquiry, of experimentation, the wide exchange of different views and of scientific-technical information, i.e., those conditions of scientific activity which have been granted to the Soviet scientists in laboring in this field in recent years.... These conditions of scientific work yielded positive results and led to such an extraordinary achievement as the creation and launching of Sputnik."

5.

Comment would soon be superfluous on this point except for the fact that it was accompanied by a "constructive" moral, namely, the need for the Soviets "to liberate all the fields of human knowledge and activity from Party control."

Not a word about liberation from dictatorship!
Just an appeaser's plea for reform!

5. Oct. 12. In its survey of the press repercussions of the launching of Sputnik, Macmillan at

"In the second half-hour of our program, we will tell you about the remarkable achievement of the Russian scientists...."

After introducing an article by the science editor of the N. Y. Times on the prospects of inter-planetary travel as a result of the launching of Sputnik, the PI broadcast resumes:

"And so, the greatest importance of the remarkable achievement of the Russian scientists...."

The broadcast concludes: "we have transmitted an article by the science editor of the N. Y. Times in which he gives his appraisal of the brilliant achievement of Soviet scientists."

To describe Sputnik as a "remarkable achievement" only once was clearly not enough for PI, so the same phrase is introduced for a second time in the same broadcast and is copied with "brilliant achievement" for full-scale measure.

6. Oct. 13. In the News of the Day department the following dispatch from Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, was reported:

"The organ of the Tibet Government has announced that recently the Government of China has recalled from Tibet more than 500 of employees of its Party-governmental administration, and has temporarily given up the conversion of Tibet into an ordinary province of the Chinese People's Republic."

"The newspaper announces that in the course of the next 6 years there will be no 'social reforms' promulgated in Tibet. In addition, a number of Chinese schools, established after the seizure of Tibet, will be closed. The local administration will be turned over to Tibetans. However, as the Lhasa press states, part of the Chinese army will remain on the territory of Tibet and the Chinese military high command has warned the population that, in the event of a repetition of the uprisings such as took place last year, it will know how to deal summarily with the rebels."

6.

Nowhere in this dispatch is there a description of the Tibet Government as a Communist regime, and a puppet of the Chinese Communists at that.

The Government of China is not described as the Government of Communist China.

The conversion of Tibet into a province of Red China is masked by a reference to the Chinese People's Republic. The seizure of Tibet is ambiguously mentioned later. But nowhere is it made clear that Tibet was invaded without provocation by Communist China in the spring of 1951. And this at a time when Communist propaganda is making the most of the alleged Western colonialism and the phoney issue of American imperialism.

The reference to the closing of the Chinese schools would make one think that it was a matter of Chinese, v. Tibetan language schools, whereas the Chinese schools are Communist schools established in deeply religious Tibet where the population boycotted them.

The Chinese army is not described as the Red or Communist Chinese units, and that they constitute an occupation force is not indicated. The same goes for the reference to the Chinese military high command.

Surely, there is method in this manner of presenting a news dispatch from one of the Action victims of Communist colonialist aggression.

7. Oct. 11. In its handling of the Djilas book, The New Class, RL omitted without correction or comment the British left-wing Socialist, Richard Crossman, as follows:

"The American Government, which published his book, compares Milovan Djilas with Karl Marx, and called the book the Anti-Communist Manifesto."

Now the Djilas book was published by Praeger, a private New York publisher, a fact which the editors of RL knew very well. To allow Crossman to circulate a myth about the U. S. Government's sponsorship of the Djilas book is to destroy entirely the effectiveness of RL's transmission of the book to Soviet listeners, and to make a precious gift to the Soviet propaganda machine.

7.

8. Oct. 1b. In its weekly review RL dealt once more with Sputnik, as follows:

"That date (of the launching of Sputnik) will undoubtedly remain forever one of the most important in the history of science....

"It is, therefore, altogether natural that this new achievement of Soviet science, which realized one of the most Utopian projects of Jules Verne, has shaken world public opinion and is the subject of discussion in the entire world press.

"The success of this experiment will compel the world to forget the shortcomings of the Soviet mechanism which have made one question all the achievements of the Communist regime."

In this orgy of praise, it is worthy of note that RL speaks of this new Soviet achievement. All others should be taken for granted.

To mask the horrors of the Soviet tyranny under the phrase "shortcomings of the Soviet mechanism" is a truly remarkable achievement of RL.

Henceforth, none will question "all the achievements of the Communist regime!"

The weekly review of RL then goes on with its broadcast on Sputnik to strike this note:

"At the same time as the British Labor leader Bevan thinks, the Soviet Government, in the glory of the prestige which all victory brings and because of the recognition of its might, will now become more accommodating on the disarmament question and in the matter of establishing effective mutual controls."

The RL habit of quoting the pronouncements of Aneurin Bevan may be debatable, but what about associating RL with Bevan's predictions?

It is no wonder that the same broadcast repeats the quotation from the London Times on the "brilliant" success of the Soviet scientists and refers again to "this new Soviet technical triumph."

9. Oct. 1b. A dispatch from Vienna quotes a speech by the Communist boss of Hungary on the sharp decline in the membership of the Hungarian Communist Party, and declares:

"Kadar added, however, that the Party has gained from the fact that it now.... has gotten rid of the cowards."

8.

Here is objective reporting with a vengeance! The implication is necessarily left with the listeners, in the absence of any RL comment, of concurring with the Kadar line.

Nowhere in this dispatch is Kadar described as the usurper of the Hungarian Government or as the head of a dictatorship. A reference to his recent return "from China" does not specify Red China.

10. Oct. 25. In a dispatch from Communist East Germany, RL reports the conviction of 3 German students for "hostile activity."

"Hostile activity" in a dispatch originating within a Communist country should spell "friendly activity" for the West. Is it the business of RL to pervey such Communist news without comment?

11. Oct. 26. In a report from Paris, RL announced that the police there had used tear gas against strikers. 9 days earlier, on October 17, RL reported the outbreak of a strike of gas and electricity workers in Paris -- without adding any explanation or comment.

Is it the function of RL to give aid and comfort to Moscow by broadcasting reports of alleged Western police brutality against workers? This is but one of many instances of RL newscasts which are quick to report strikes in the Western world, usually without comment.

12. Nov. 1. In the piece of Dialogue broadcast by RL in connection with the Soviet celebration of the 60th anniversary, one of the speakers argues as follows:

"Let us assume that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party did not gauge too accurately the time element. However, the most important thing is the fact that the Revolution, with its achievements and the opportunities (possibilities) which it opened up to the people, was saved."

And all the while there were those in Radio Liberation who presented the record of Lenin's seizure of power, with his dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, as a counter-revolution!

Now it turns out that RL glories in the fact that the Soviet "Revolution -- was saved."

And what is one to say of RL stressing the "achievements and opportunities" of the Communist dictatorship?

13. Nov. 4. On the occasion of the Soviet's 40th Anniversary, RL had this to say:

"October, -- the month of 3 revolutions, one of which took place 40 years ago in Russia, -- has marked the beginning of a new epoch in the life of our country, and not only of our country, but indirectly in the life of all humanity."

Thus did RL sound the keynote of 40 years of incessant Communist propaganda in which Moscow has hammered away at the theme of ushering in a new epoch for all humanity!

14. Nov. 5. Aneurin Bevan is quoted that "a considerable change for the better is noticeable in the Soviet Union."

During the tense days of the Zhukov purge RL could find a more optimistic note to strike for its audience! But it did find during the broadcast a new description for the Sputnik. On this day it referred to it as an "almost incredible" achievement.

15. Nov. 10. In a 12-page opus concluding its coverage of the Soviet's 40th Anniversary, RL broadcast the following:

"At this high cost did our country create the advanced industry whose achievements sometimes astonish the imagination of the whole world."

Could Khrushchev ask for more in justifying the Stalin era?

16. Nov. 12. In introducing an interview with Howard Fast, RL reported:

"In 1950 he even had to suffer a short term of imprisonment for refusing to give to a Congressional committee evidence of the activity of the Communist organization of which he was a member."

What purpose other than confirming Soviet charges did RL serve by purveying this nugget?

17. Nov. 13. On the occasion of the death of President Zapotocky of Communist Czechoslovakia RL honored him with a biographical sketch couched in terms worthy in every respect of an official Soviet obituary.

Not a mention in the sketch of the terrors and bloodbaths to which Zapotocky was a party!

18. Nov. 29. In a dispatch from Washington on the visit of King Mohammed of Morocco to the United States, RL reported:

"The American and Moroccan governments agreed to conclude a special treaty providing for the allocation of American bases on the territory of Morocco."

Was someone in RL worried that the press would fail to report such news?

10.

19. Nov. 29. In commenting on the State Department's refusal to grant a visa to Soviet chess champion Bronstein, RL stated

"In the opinion of Radio Liberation such action by the American Department of State can be described not only as erroneous but also stupid...."

"In any event, the decision of the State Department to deny a visa to Bronstein cannot be regarded as a step which would serve the cause of improving the relations between the peoples of both countries."

Here is a clear attempt to draw a line between the government and the people of the United States, an old Soviet propaganda line.

20. Dec. 2. In its review of the week, dealing with the ratification of Euratom and the prospects of achieving economic unity in Western Europe, RL commented:

"In the future Western Europe will become a fully independent industrial power, alongside the two atomic giants -- the Soviet Union and the U.S.A."

This is a good line if RL is out to build up the morale of the Soviet listeners, although the Moscow press has not exactly underestimated its atomic power.

21. Dec. 3. In two separate dispatches from Peking referenced is made by RL to action of "the Chinese Government," not the Government of Red China. No mention is ever made of Nationalist China which is represented in the Council of UN.

The second of the two dispatches reports, on the authority of "Min-hua," the official Red Chinese news agency, "that Denmark is the second Scandinavian country to sign a commercial agreement with China."

Good news for Communists, which the Soviet press is sure to carry. Must we echo it?

22. Dec. 3. In a dispatch from Washington on a speech by the White House of the President's Scientific Committee report on the need for greater efforts to develop American science, RL said:

"The report notes that if this is not achieved in time, then in 5 to 10 years Soviet science will overtake that of America."

Is this selection designed to give moral support to the anti-Soviet elements among RL listeners?

11.

23. Dec. 4. In a broadcast on travel abroad of Polish citizens, RL reported:

"Of the many thousands of Polish tourists who have visited this year Western countries, only 1 per cent remained abroad, according to official figures. The desire to go abroad in the majority of cases was not due to the aim of getting away from the regime, but to the altogether usual interest in foreign lands. This is what explains the long queues in front of the passport bureaus (Warsaw)."

RL once started out to crusade for defections from behind the Iron Curtain. Now it looks over the official claim that only 1 per cent remained abroad!

In view of the recent prohibitive increase in Polish fees for foreign passports, what is one to make of the RL explanation of the long queues in front of Warsaw passport office?

24. Dec. 5. Here is the complete text of an RU dispatch from New York:

"The American Congressman, the Republican (sic!) Cellar, has declared that in Europe the most unpopular of all American political figures is Secretary of State Dulles.

"Cellar has just returned from Europe where he went as a member of the Judiciary Committee of Congress to acquaint himself with the atomic installations in England, France, Western Germany and Italy.

"Appearing at the New York airport before the representatives of the press, the American Congressman demanded that Dulles resign as his policies only promote disagreements among the Western allies.

"Dulles as a statesman, in the opinion of Cellar, is not capable of carrying out a policy which would promote full unity among the Western countries."

For Radio Liberation to broadcast a statement of this character by Congressman Cellar, who is not regarded as a responsible spokesman even by his own Democratic Party, is of a piece with quoting Bovin, but even more grieves us.

RL added insult to injury in this case by avoiding all comment and by describing Cellar as a member of the Republican Party to which Dulles belongs.

25. Dec. 6. Radio Liberation reported:

"The atomic icebreaker Lenin, the launching of which was announced by the Soviet radio, is the first surface ship in the world equipped with an atomic engine."

12.

Why should RL supplement the news which Moscow is sure to trumpet to the whole world?

26. Dec. 6. RL quoted an editorial from the Swedish Socialist newspaper, the Stockholm Tidningen, as follows:

"After Stalin's death there have been no more show trials staged within the Communist Bloc. The struggle for power in the Soviet leadership is being carried on without bloody excesses -- the only exception was the execution of Beria. The rule of law, even if it has not reached its full development, is nevertheless stronger than in the era of Stalin's arbitrary power."

Of course, the Soviet listeners know that there were other arbitrary executions after Beria, such as the liquidation of the Abakumov clique. They also really know the truth about Khrushchev's "rule of law." But what are they to make of RL's assurances, on the authority of a Socialist paper's editorial, that the Soviet Union has become a safe haven?

27. Dec. 6. In a 5-page broadcast, Victor Frank reported on the Socialist Congress held in Austria. He observed for RL that "some fundamental moral principles of socialism have become part of our flesh and blood." But he did not specify those principles. He spoke of the "new roads" opened by the Austrian Socialist Party. But nowhere did he indicate the nature of these "new roads."

Altogether, a confused and confusing dissertation.

28. Dec. 8. In a 2-1/2-page commentary on the widespread debate going on in the U.S.A. about the need for a reappraisal of the American way of life, RL presented a set of vital statistics remarkable for their selection, to wit:

"It is sufficient to say that last year Americans spent on smoking and alcoholic drinks 15 billion dollars, and on education 15-1/2 billion....

"Last year there was expended on scientific research activities, without of course taking account of research on atomic energy and defense, 500 million dollars, and on flowers and domestic gardening 800 million....

"But the American people, in the light of the present scientific achievements in the world, particularly of our scientific achievements, are beginning to understand that man does not live by cake alone....

"All over America there is going on a widespread debate testifying that Americans are recognizing that with all their wealth and freedoms, they have inexplicably disregarded until now matters of education, science and other spiritual values."

13.

Note the identification of the Russian deck of RL with the Soviet boasts by employing the phrase "our scientific achievements."

It is superfluous to analyze fully this studied connection except to call attention to the fact that Radio Liberation which is solely supported by American contributions broadcasts to the Soviet listeners the statement that Americans have "inexcusably disregarded.... spiritual values."

29. Dec. 9. It is questionable if George Kennan himself would have approved of the 5-page biography of Kennan broadcast by RL as an introduction to relaying in installments the full texts of his entire series of BBC broadcasts. One line in this biographical sketch prepared by RL deserves culling:

"The Soviet Union liberated Eastern Europe from Hitler...."

What a perfect pearl of Soviet propaganda! The Allied forces simply did not exist for the author of this script. Where were Eisenhower and Patton?

Another passage from the introduction to the Kennan series:

"Kennan reproaches the present-day American leadership for its excessive adherence to principles, for its lack of realism and for its inadequate flexibility."

Excessive adherence to principles! A new political crime, indeed.

The RL broadcast on Kennan goes on:

"Eisenhower proclaimed that a policy of liberation from Communism would replace the policy of containment of Communism. Kennan did not believe in the practical possibility of such a policy in the immediate future...."

But if Kennan does not believe in a policy of liberation, which is his undisputed right, why should Radio Liberation, dedicated to a policy of liberation, broadcast (to the extent of putting on the air) Kennan's unabridged series of talks?

30. Dec. 9. A correspondent for RL interviews Mr. Allen Pretley, president of the Labor Party Students' Club at Cambridge University. This Club has 300 members, the Conservative Club has 900 and the Liberal over 1,000, out of a total of 7,600 students at Cambridge. We shall not deal here with the question of how and why RL picked on Mr. Pretley. Perhaps the following quotations from the interview will prove enlightening:

14.

"Pretley:.... Our aim is the dissemination of Social Democratic ideas.

"Corresp.: What do you mean by Social Democratic ideas?

"Pretley: We wish to introduce socialism into England, but we are convinced that socialism cannot be introduced by force.... I want such an organization of social life where full equalities would exist. I also cannot agree with the principles of capitalism.... First, we propose to nationalize the buildings used for business purposes. Second, we intend to nationalize the steel industry, highway transportation, and other enterprises.

"Corresp.: Please tell us what will be the foreign policy of your party.

"Pretley:The Labor Party will try to solve the Cyprus problem, will propose the admission of China to the UN and will offer a plan for the neutralization of Central Europe....

"Corresp.: How does your Club regard the Soviet Union?

"Pretley: We regard the achievements of the Soviet Union with respect, but we regret that these achievements are at the expense of such privations of the Soviet population....

"Corresp.: Tell us, please, do you discuss with the Communists certain problems inside your Club? Do the Communists frequent you?

"Pretley: Yes, we treat the Communists courteously enough, they can come to our meetings, they can ask questions, etc.; they can discuss problems jointly with us, but they cannot vote in our elections or for our resolutions."

It was quite an achievement for RL to illustrate Bevanism with this idyllic picture of a real united front, a model of co-existence for the Soviet listeners to ponder long and deeply.

31. Dec. 13. In reporting the subway strike in New York -- and RL is fond of reporting strikes in the Western world -- the broadcast had this to say:

"But even before the declaration of the strike, the authorities had arrested four leaders of the subway employees. The local court sentenced them to ten days' imprisonment. After this, 2,500 subway workers left their post."

Four days later, on December 17, RL returned to reporting the New York subway strike, adding this nugget:

"The complete stoppage of the subway has created a catastrophic situation."

15.

Is this news calculated to build up the morale of the Soviet audience which is constantly being assured by Radio Moscow that capitalist America is on the verge of a breakdown?

32. Dec. 15. Here is the editorial comment of RL on the Paris NATO Conference attended by President Eisenhower:

"Throughout the whole world there is open talk about the crisis of the NATO. The noted American journalist Lippmann is writing about the decline in the mutual confidence of the members of NATO.... If the present conference will be seeking ways of strengthening NATO only by remodeling the military-defensive strategy and by taking other measures of purely military importance, the organization of the North Atlantic Pact will hardly emerge from the prevailing crisis. Of late there has been wide discussion in the Western press and in government circles of the necessity of converting the NATO alliance from a defensive union into a broad political-economic union of Western states.

"There is no doubt that the transformation of NATO from a purely military defensive union into a political-economic union would restore to health the relations among the members of NATO."

In view of the outcome of the Paris Conference, the wisdom of RL's prophetic comment hardly needs analysis.

Note the lugubrious undertone running through the whole piece, and the reiteration of the "crisis" characterization.

Quoting Lippmann is in line with quoting Sevan and Kennan, without giving opposite views.

Finally, has RL taken a position for the abolition of NATO as a military alliance in favor of "a political-economic union"?

33. Dec. 16. In a news dispatch from Stanford, California, RL reported:

"Dr. Bethe, one of the members of the President's scientific council, declared that in the field of rocket technique the Soviet Union has gotten ahead of all other countries. However, added Bethe, in the field of nuclear physics the Soviet Union is still behind the USA and England.... This means, Bethe pointed out, that the Western countries can create a more powerful nuclear bomb, but the Soviet Union can launch it better."

16.

Informing the Soviet listeners that the Soviet Union is ahead of all other countries in rocketry, a fact which Radio Moscow was sure not to overlook, and to drive the point home that the Soviet Union can launch a nuclear bomb better than the West is surely a strange way of achieving the purposes of RL.

34. Dec. 21. The following is a dispatch from London relayed by RL:

"In the official organ of the Soviet government published in London in English, Soviet News, there appear the forecasts of nine Soviet scientists as to the development of science and technique in the future - in the 21st Century. The Soviet scientists think that by that time a cure for cancer will have been found, pocket television sets will be built, ocean going, submarine passenger vessels will be constructed, and completely new methods of feeding human beings will be in use."

This is breaking new ground for Radio Liberation -- to quote an official Soviet propaganda publication put out by the Soviet Embassy in London for distribution to the Western press.

The choice of the forecasts is too silly to deserve comment.

35. Dec. 21. On the same day RL broadcast 3 biographical sketches of 3 new secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, namely Ignatov, Kirichenko and Nukhiddinov. These sketches differed in no respect from the official Soviet "Who's Who" accounts of the 3 Khrushchev appointees.

Was RL set up to echo the official Soviet concoctors?

36. Dec. 29. In commenting on the Gaither Report, RL quoted Stewart Alsop as follows:

"The Gaither Report is an indictment of the policy carried out by the American Government during the last five years."

What a selection for RL to convey to the Soviet audience!

Quoting Stewart Alsop, after Lippmann, Bowen, Kennan, Celler, in connection with the contents of the quotations, shows a trend, doesn't it?

And did someone in RL fear that Pravda might ever overlook the Alsop line?

37. Jan. 4, 1953. This is how RL interviewed Mr. Langston Hughes, the gifted negro writer:

"Would you tell us, Mr. Hughes, what is the position of Negro writers in the struggle of American Negroes to achieve full equality?"

"Mr. Hughes, how do you estimate the present social position of Negroes, especially of the Negro intellectuals, in the United States?"

In view of the loaded character of these questions, the replies of Mr. Hughes were indeed most moderate. But he also managed to drop the following remarks:

"However, in the South of the United States they (Negroes) are subjected to discrimination. For instance, in the Southern states, Negro physicians have no right to use the facilities of hospitals (for their patients).... Take the question of integrated schooling. Everybody knows what happened in Little Rock, and the situation is far from being true of one city only. In the South there are tens of cities and hundreds of towns and villages where Negro children cannot attend well-equipped modern schools...."

Did not the Soviet press and radio devote millions of words to the tragedy of Little Rock and must RL re-echo the Soviet propaganda?

36. Jan. 29. In reporting and commenting on the treaty on cultural relations concluded by the United States and Soviet government, RL, among other views, declared:

"The fact that this agreement has been signed is undeniable testimony to the right internal evolution in the Soviet Union.... The present Communist leadership, as distinguished from Stalin's, is compelled to take the people into account...."

At last the cat is out of the bag: RL has discovered and recognized a "mighty internal evolution" in the Soviet Union and is swimming with that tide!

This entire broadcast deserves the fullest study and analysis as a clue to the problem we are concerned with.

Incidentally, while in Mexico I chanced to read a sober analysis of the cultural exchange treaty by Tom Whitney of the Associated Press. Why was not such comment broadcast by RL? Is David Lawrence, for instance, banned by RL?

18.

39. Feb. 3. In the review of the week, RL returned to the cultural exchange treaty and had this to say:

"The Washington agreement can become the gateway to the achievement of more substantial agreements of political character. It speaks for the realistic possibility of peaceful coexistence of differing political systems. It testifies that it is always possible to come to an agreement between the Soviet Union and the democratic countries of the West, so long as both sides show good will."

This is how RL epitomized in one paragraph the entire output of the Kremlin's "peace" and "co-existence" propaganda of recent months.

40. Feb. 4. In the press review dealing with the launching of the American satellite, RL quotes the Manchester Guardian, in part, as follows:

"Soviet scientists can achieve enormous successes in every field...."

Another opportunity to glorify Soviet science which RL did not miss!

41. Feb. 4. In a newscast of RL, a dispatch from Melbourne described the comforts of life and work enjoyed by the Soviet scientists, in the Antarctic.

How could this fail to give an added lift to the spirits of the Soviet listeners?

42. Feb. 5. In quoting the Paris Combat on the union of Egypt and Syria, RL carried the following passage:

"90 percent of the entire Middle Eastern oil destined for Europe is transported across the territory of these two countries. i.e., through the Suez Canal or the Syrian pipelines. This is what gives the Western countries grounds for fear."

So it is not fear of war, but fear of losing the oil which shapes Western policy in the Middle East, RL virtually tells the Soviet audience.

How does this differ from Moscow's own line?

43. Feb. 9. According to a dispatch from Tokyo carried by RL:

"The Japanese government asked the United States to reestablish on the island of Okinawa the Japanese civilian administration..."

The Japanese Ambassador in Washington is then quoted as follows:

"The perpetuation on Okinawa of the American military administration is reflected in the growth of the anti-government frame of mind of the local population."

Thus does RL support the Kremlin's charges of American imperialism and militarism.

ibid. Feb. 12. In commenting on the projected Summit Conference, RL voiced the following:

"In order to answer the question, it is necessary first of all to draw a line between the genuine aims and aspirations of the governments of the great powers and the propaganda which accompanies their declarations in this regard...."

"Briefly stated, not even the most solemn pact guarantees by itself any kind of peace...."

The professions and the motives and the solemn obligations of the West are effectively undermined by RL in this singular comment.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

An examination of several weeks' output of the Russian-language broadcasts of RL shows that they can be divided, for the purposes of this inquiry, into 4 categories:

A. --- Excellent, good and satisfactory scripts which hit the nail on the head and meet the special and basic objectives of Radio Liberation.

B. --- Inept, verbose, academic scripts which, however, are subjects for legitimate controversy and differences of opinion such as are found in any normal editorial office.

C. --- Politically and ideologically barren and harmless items which can only be described as "filler" -- material which duplicates the Voice of America, Tass and other broadcasts and which, therefore, is a waste of valuable time on RL.

D. --- Harmful, perverse, pro-Soviet items which follow a definite policy of appeasement of Red imperialism and which shew an unmistakable pattern of infiltration by elements set upon subverting from within the purposes and policies of Radio Liberation.

The present memorandum concerns itself solely with Category D. The 45 items dealt with in Parts I and II of this report do not cover completely even the period under examination. Dozens of other questionable items where the nuances of infiltration were so subtle as to require lengthy elucidation, were omitted from this record.

But the examples cited, it seems to me, are sufficient to disclose the gravity of the disease which has developed in and has afflicted RL.

This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the distinguished and helpful evaluations of "Svidetel," who follows week by week the output of the Russian-language desk of RL and who spots and points out at least some 75% of the wilful items, are apparently consigned to the waste-basket in Munich week after week. The staff in Munich, therefore, cannot even plead ignorance as an excuse for the type of material it puts out.

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It is my considered opinion, after long reflection, that drastic and immediate action is required to remedy the situation which has caused you, [redacted] so much concern. Speaking for myself, I do not hesitate to conclude this report with the expression of my profound anxiety over the shocking development which has turned part of Radio Liberation -- designed as the voice of militant anti-Communism -- into an effective adjunct of the Voice of Moscow. I have no doubt that you will deal with the situation decisively and that you will find a constructive organizational solution to the problem confronting us.

Sincerely,

IDL:AdW